

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0438

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, UN, TU

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS/DENKTASH MEETING WITH WALDHEIM: CONVERSATIONS
WITH DE CUELLAR AND DENKTASH

REF: (A) NICOSIA 0414, (B) NICOSIA 0415

1. CALLS THAT I MADE ON UNSYG SPECREP DE CUELLAR AND DENKTASH
MORNING FEB 14 PROVIDED OPPORTUNITIES TO DISCUSS WALDHEIM VISIT
AND RESULTS OF SECOND MAKARIOS/DENKTASH MEETING UNDER HIS
AEGIS FEB 12.

2. DE CUELLAR SAID THAT FEB 12 FOUR-HOUR MEETING WITH WALDHEIM,
DE CUELLAR, GUYER, URQUHART, MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH PARTICIPATING
WAS ESSENTIALLY REFLECTED IN PRESS CONFERENCES GIVEN BY WALDHEIM,
MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH ON FEB 13. TO PROVE HIS POINT, DE CUELLAR
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GOT OUT HIS NOTES OF THE MEETING AND READ ALOUD WHAT APPEARED
TO BE HIS FULL TEXT DURING THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSION.
DE CUELLAR PREFACED HIS DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE BY SAYING
THAT THE ATMOSPHERE HAD NOT BEEN QUITE AS GOOD AS ON JAN 27.
THERE WAS NO EVIDENT ILL WILL BUT BOTH PARTIES WANTED TO
SHOW THEMSELVES FIRM ON SUBSTANCE. MAKARIOS SET THE PACE
IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO RESOLVE WHETHER THERE WAS OR WAS NOT

ENOUGH "COMMON BASIS", A "FRAMEWORK OF AGREEMENT" TO RENEW NEGOTIATION BETWEEN PAPADOPOULOS AND ONAN. HIS EVIDENT EFFORT WAS TO OBLIGE WALDHEIM TO TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR STATING THAT IN HIS OPINION THERE WAS SUCH A BASIS. PROGRESS, SUCH AS WAS MADE, WAS THE PRODUCT OF THE MEETING ITSELF, NOT OF PRIOR UN COORDINATION (WHICH HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF DIPLOMATIC ENERGIES CONSUMED BY RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM OVER WHICH AIRPORTS WERE TO BE USED FOR WALDHEIM'S ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE).

3. DE CUELLAR SAID THREE SIDE ISSUES WERE SET ASIDE FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION: AVLONA, MISSING PERSONS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH. ON MISSING PERSONS, DENKTASH AGREED TO COOPERATE IN PROVIDING INFORMATION ON ALLEGED MISSING GREEKS IF THE GREEK SIDE WOULD FIRST PROVIDE INFORMATION ON TURKS MISSING AFTER THE 1963-64 DISTURBANCES AND ACKNOWLEDGE EXISTENCE IN THE SOUTH OF MASS GRAVES. ONCE THIS HAD BEEN DONE, A MIXED COMMITTEE OF SOME SORT COULD BE SET UP TO INVESTIGATE GREEK CHARGES ABOUT THEIR MISSING PERSONS. ON GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE NORTH, MAKARIOS REMAINED DIFFIDENT ABOUT A PROCEDURE WHEREBY "APPLICATIONS" OF THOSE "VOLUNTARILY" REQUESTING MOVEMENT SOUTH WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO UN FOR VETTING. HE SEEMED TO FEEL THAT HIS APPROVAL OF THIS PROCEDURE MIGHT ABSOLVE TURKS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR PREVIOUS EXPULSIONS WHICH WERE, IN HIS VIEW, FORCED.

4. GIVE-AND-TAKE DISCUSSION OF TERRITORY RESULTED IN ARCHBISHOP'S ACCEPTANCE OF NEW CRITERIA OF PREVIOUS OWNERSHIP, PRODUCTIVITY AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY INSTEAD OF POPULATION RATIO. THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF MAKARIOS' CONFIDENTIAL

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INSISTENCE ON THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT AND RESPECT FOR PROPERTY RIGHTS. DENKTASH SAID ALL WERE AGREEABLE IN PRINCIPLE BUT APPLICATION WOULD BE POSSIBLE ONLY OVER THE LONG TERM AND WOULD HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT TURKISH CYPRIOT CONCERN FOR SECURITY. MAKARIOS DEMURRED AT USE OF THE TERM "SECURITY" AND SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTING "PRACTICAL CONCERNS OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY."

5. ON RESPECTIVE POWERS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ZONAL ADMINISTRATIONS, MAKARIOS SUGGESTED THAT THE TERMS "WEAK" AND "STRONG" BE AVOIDED. WHAT WAS AT ISSUE, HE SAID, WAS A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WITH SUFFICIENT POWERS TO PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CYPRIOT STATE, AN OBJECTIVE ON WHICH BOTH HAD SAID THEY WERE IN AGREEMENT.

6. THERE FOLLOWED, AT DENKTASH'S SUGGESTION, A LONG DISCUSSION OF A JOINTLY DRAFTED "INSTRUCTION" TO NEGOTIATORS. (DE CUELLAR GAVE US THE AGREED TEXT. THIS IS IDENTICAL TO THAT CONTAINED IN PARA THREE, REF B, AND THE "INSTRUCTION" CAN THEREFORE BE

CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN OFFICIALLY BUT CONFIDENTIALLY
TO USG.)

7. MAKARIOS THEN ASKED WALDHEIM WHETHER HE CONSIDERED THERE
WAS ENOUGH "COMMON BASIS" TO ENABLE HIM TO AGREE TO
CONVENING A RESUMED NEGOTIATION. WALDHEIM REPLIED THAT
"IN LIGHT OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED TONIGHT, YES."

8. THERE FOLLOWED A DISCUSSION OF VENUE. MAKARIOS ARGUED
FOR NEW YORK, DENKTASH FOR NICOSIA. VIENNA REPRESENTED A
COMPROMISE SUGGESTED BY WALDHEIM. WALDHEIM AGREED TO INVITE
PAPADOPOULOS AND ONAN FOR LATE MARCH BUT SAID HE COULD NOT
SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON THIS SINGLE PROBLEM. HE WOULD HAVE TO
LEAVE VIENNA AFTER A FEW DAYS, PUTTING DE CUELLAR IN CHARGE
OF CONTINUED NEGOTIATION. IT WAS AGREED THAT SOMETIME
AFTER VIENNA THE NEGOTIATION WOULD MOVE TO NICOSIA WHERE EXPERTS
WOULD BE ADDED FOR DISCUSSION OF DETAILS. COMMENT: DE CUELLAR
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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 0438

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SAID THAT DESPITE THE FOREGOING, WHICH REPRESENTED HIS UNDER-
STANDING AND WALDHEIM'S OF WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED, HE THOUGHT
THERE MIGHT BE FUZZINESS. IN PUBLIC REMARKS AFTER THE MEETING,
DENKTASH HAD IMPLIED THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD RETURN TO NICOSIA
AS SOON AS WALDHEIM LEFT VIENNA. AWARE THAT I WOULD BE SEEING
DENKTASH IMMEDIATELY AFTER OUR MEETING, DE CUELLAR ASKED IF I
WOULD PROBE DENKTASH ON THIS. END COMMENT.

9. CONCLUDING, DE CUELLAR EXPRESSED HOPE THAT FOREGOING
WOULD BE USEFUL BACKGROUND FOR USG IN CONNECTION WITH URQUHART'S
VISIT TO DEPT FEB 14 AND MR. CLIFFORD'S SCHEDULED MEETING
WITH SYG ON FEB 17. I EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HIS
HAVING BRIEFED US SO QUICKLY.

10. IMMEDIATELY AFTER SEEING DE CUELLAR, I MET DENKTASH.
HE SAID THAT IN HIS OPINION MAKARIOS HAD MOVED TO NEW VERBAL
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FORUMLATIONS OF HIS POSITIONS ON CERTAIN KEY ISSUES. THE
RESULT GAVE AN APPEARANCE OF MORE FLEXIBILITY, MORE WILLING-
NESS TO ACCOMMODATE, BUT WITHOUT COMMITMENT OR CHANGE IN
UNDERLYING SUBSTANCE. I ASKED DENKTASH WHETHER THIS WAS NOT
IN FACT ALSO TRUE OF THE TURKISH SIDE AT THE JAN 27 AND
FEB 12 MEETINGS, AND HE REPLIED WITH GOOD HUMOR, "YES, WE
ARE BOTH UP TO THE SAME THING."

11. I REFERRED TO DE CUELLAR'S CONCERN ABOUT SOME FUZZINESS IN
THE AGREEMENT ON PROCEDURE IN VIENNA AND AFTERWARDS. DENKTASH
CONFIRMED HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE NEGOTIATORS WOULD
RETURN TO NICOSIA AFTER WALDHEIM'S DEPARTURE FROM VIENNA, TO
WORK IN COMMITTEES HERE. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, HE CAME AROUND
TO THE VIEW THAT NEGOTIATORS COULD STAY IN VIENNA, UNDER
DE CUELLAR, "FOR A FEW DAYS" AFTER WALDHEIM LEFT. HE GAVE AS
HIS REASON FOR PLACING THIS LIMIT THE FACT THAT "OUR CIVIL
SERVANT, ONAN, CANNOT GO FOR LONG WITHOUT COMING HOME FOR
INSTRUCTION.... I CANNOT MANAGE THIS BY BEING ON THE TELEPHONE
SEVERAL TIMES A DAY."

12. THE BALANCE OF MY CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH DEALT WITH
THE CLIFFORD MISSION. AS NOTED SEPTEL, DENKTASH AGREED TO
ALL SUGGESTED ARRANGEMENTS ON HIS SIDE AND, WITH WHAT SEEMED
TO ME DELIBERATE CARE, AVOIDED RAISING AIRPORT OF ENTRY.
I CHIDED DENKTASH WITH HIS DISPARAGING REFERENCES TO THE
CLIFFORD NMQSION AND AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT. DENKTASH LAUNCHED
HIS USUAL DIATRIBE AGAINST THE UNHELPFUL CONSEQUENCES OF
"AMERICAN PRESSURES HERE, THERE AND EVERYWHERE" IN TERMS OF
ENCOURAGING MAKARIOS' INTRANSIGENCE, DISRUPTING THE NEW
NEGOTIATING CHAPTER USHERED IN BY HIS MEETINGS WITH MAKARIOS,

AND GENERALLY MAKING LIFE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOT. I REPLIED THAT THERE WAS NO PRESSURE. USG HAD BEEN VERY CAREFULLY SENSITIVE TO TURKISH CONCERNS IN ANNOUNCING THE CLIFFORD MISSION. OUR CONCERN WAS TO WORK FOR FULL RESTORATION OF THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. DENKTASH REPLIED, "YOU AMERICANS CAN BE CLEVER IN THE WORDS YOU USE, BUT THE PRESSURE
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IS THERE, ONLY NOW IT IS A SALAMI TACTIC, PAGE-BY-PAGE PRESSURE." HE SOON CAME OFF THIS, HOWEVER, AND CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE CLIFFORD MISSION WOULD RECEIVE A FRIENDLY WELCOME FROM TURKISH CYPRIOTS.

13. COMMENT: AS WE LOOK BACK AT THE JAN 27 MAKARIOS/DENKTASH MEETING AND FEB 12 SESSION UNDER WALDHEIM, WHAT SEEMS TO BE AT WORK ON BOTH SIDES IS A DESIRE TO IMPROVE APPEARANCES BY MOVING AWAY FROM STALE AND STERILE FORMULATIONS THAT REFLECT INTRANSIGENCE, BUT WITHOUT MUCH SIGNIFICANT CHANGE AS YET IN FUNDAMENTAL POSITIONS ON SUBSTANCE. THUS, DENKTASH, AS HE ACKNOWLEDGES, HAS PROFESSED A WILLINGNESS TO CONCEDE IN PRINCIPLE THE VALIDITY OF MAKARIOS' STIPULATIONS ON MOVEMENT, SETTLEMENT AND PROPERTY-- WHILE CAREFULLY LINKING APPLICATION EVEN IN LONG TERMS TO TURKISH CYPRIOT SECURITY AND TO THE NEED FOR CONFIDENCE-BUILDING. ON MAKARIOS' SIDE, THE REFORMULATIONS THAT EMERGED THIS PAST WEEKEND HAVE BEEN MORE SUBTLE AND PERHAPS OF GREATER IMPORTANCE IN THE LONG TERM. ON TERRITORY, PREVIOUS LAND OWNERSHIP PROPORTIONS AND PRODUCTIVITY HAVE BEEN SUBSTITUTED FOR UNREALISTIC INSISTENCE ON A TIE TO POPULATION RATIO, THUS MAKING IT POTENTIALLY EASIER TO ACCOMMODATE TO 27-28 PERCENT RATHER THAN CONTINUED PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO A FIGURE IN THE LOW 20'S. ON REFUGEE RETURN, PREVIOUS INSISTENCE ON 100 PERCENT RETURN HAS GIVEN WAY TO REQUIREMENT FOR THEORETICAL FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT COUPLED WITH RESPECT FOR PROPERTY. THE LATTER CLEARLY OPENS THE DOOR TO COMPENSATION IN CASES WHERE RETURN IS NOT FEASIBLE BECAUSE OF THE "PRACICAL CONCERNS OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY" (SECURITY). THERE IS HEALTHY STRESS ON THE BI-COMMUNAL NATURE OF THE CYPRUS STATE. SET ASIDE, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, IS "LONG STRUGGLE." IN SHORT, WHILE POSITIONS REMAIN FAR APART, WE CAN APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN CREATED BY THESE EVENTS, AND THOSE TO COME, TO KEEP THE PARTIES COMMITTED TO NEGOTIATION AND TO WORK WITH THEM TO EXTRACT FLEXIBILITY AND MOVEMENT.
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